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Therefore the flora is different; and furthermore the soil is not suitable for *adobe*, so that most of the houses are of cane, straw, or wattle.

Differences in altitude and in aridity produce differences in the sorts of natural products of these eight villages; thus it comes about that villages have agricultural and economic specialties. San Juanico furnishes *tejocotes* (*manzanillas*), and a variety of medicinal herbs which grow only at a high altitude. San Andres, situated on a limestone ridge, contributes the lime, burned in its kilns, in which all maize is cooked. Santiago is a warmer and better-watered village than the others, and its inhabitants supply tomatoes, sugar cane, and sapotes. The people of Ixcatepec specialize in honey, and those of arid Santa Catarina often bring acacia pods (S. *guajes;* N. *huexi*).

This economic specialization facilitates exchange at the bi-weekly market. Every Wednesday and every Sunday morning fifty to a hundred vendors gather in the central *plaza* of Tepoztlán. Some of these are from Tepoztlán itself, some from the tributary hamlets, and a few from villages outside the community. The merchant simply squats on his heels on the *plaza*, or under the *portales* in front of the permanent shops, or he may sit on a stone, displaying his wares in little piles. For the privilege of occupying such a space the municipal government exacts a "floor tax" (*derecho de piso*). The positions taken by the merchants do not vary substantially from week to week, nor, indeed, from generation to generation; those from each sur-

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642 631 It remains to indicate the relation of the formal government to the actual social organization. The local political unit, the *municipalidad*, embraces Tepoztlán and the seven satellite hamlets and is therefore a recognition of the natural community. The seat of municipal government is at Tepoztlán. It consists of a 646 municipal council (*consejo municipal*), embracing one [693] chief officer (*presidente*) and eight assistants (*ayu-* [692] *dantes*), a secretary, and a judge (*juez*). The last, with the aid of a more literate secretary, hears local complaints, and, if he cannot compose them, transmits memoranda on such matters to Cuernavaca. The government is in form elected annually on the first of 666 January. In fact, it is (at the time of this study) ap- 647 pointed from Cuernavaca, the seat of the state gov- 648 ernment, from among those in political sympathy with the state government in power.[1] At present,[2] [665] election by viva voce, as an emergency measure, under control of the party in power, permits a slate to be installed with the active participation of a handful of adherents and the almost complete indifference of the body of the population.

646 This government does little beyond the administration of routine matters. Except for occasional regulations dealing with the exploitation of or possible injury to the communal lands, no legislation is passed. 651 An attempt is made to collect local taxes,[3] but such

[1] During 1927 the Campesinos (rural radical party).

[2] 1927.

[3] There are four: a tax on real estate, a sales tax on domestic animals, a tax for use of the slaughter-house, and the tax on merchants using the public *plaza*.

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attempts are not infrequently resented by individuals who paid no taxes during the years of the revolution. Furthermore, valuation of property is in the hands of a committee of inhabitants who put down their own and their neighbors' lands for a merely nominal value. Thus deprived of revenues, the municipal government cannot initiate improvements.

Until recent years local government was by the old *cacique* system whereby a single individual of personality and local prestige ruled the community with the consent of public opinion. The *cacique* usually served for life. This system, along with the informal neighborhood organizations to be described later, probably suited better the political spirit of the village than do the exterior forms of an annually elected and annually changed municipal board. Now the law is enforced requiring the municipal government to be changed every year.

Nevertheless this government, drawn from the people, more nearly represents them than did the provisional rulers sent down after the revolution by the federal government, or than do now the collectors of the state tax, where they are outsiders similarly imposed on the community by the state. Such proconsular representatives of an exterior power remain, so far as personal experience would indicate, only long enough to exploit and defraud the natives. Justly the objects of fear and suspicion, they pass a tenure of office in no small measure dependent on the readiness of the gun.

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476 653 [624] [463] The municipal government, it has already been suggested, is more formal than actual; and there are few special functionaries in charge of public repairs and improvements. The *ayuntamiento* employs men to care for the building in which the government has its offices, and to sweep and water the central *plaza*. But other repairs and maintenance operations are performed by individuals or groups of neighbors particularly concerned. If a water tank is dirty, it remains so until someone who draws water there is moved to spend the time and labor necessary to clean it. Tasks requiring many men and involving several techniques and kinds of materials are done by men living in the [621] *barrio* where the repair must be made. If the proposed work is considerable, the consent of the *ayuntamiento* must first be obtained. This is, however, almost entirely formal. The local government does not pay for the work out of local funds or employ workmen. For example, when in 1927 a new set of stone troughs for washing clothes was put up where the *barrio* of La Santísima meets that of Santa Cruz, one of the *ayudantes* living in Santa Cruz asked consent of the *presidente*. A few of the elder men of the two *barrios* organized a party to make the repairs. One contributed the lime; another hauled the sand; others labored for a day or more. The *ayuntamiento* con- [273] tributed nothing but the *aguardiente*.

• [651] [192] [491] Such co-operative labor is stereotyped, and bears the special name *cuatequitl*. This word is from the ordinary word for work (*tequitl*) and a root meaning

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"head," much like the "poll" in our "poll tax." Co-operative repair of streets is *cuatequitl.* The co-operative labor by which harvests are brought in is *cuatequitl.* So is the co-operative work done in connection with the support of the *santos;* the cleaning of the chapels, and the preparation of the chapel and its yard for a *fiesta.* Such work is regarded as the moral obligation of the individual to perform. The request of an elder to join in such work is not lightly denied. The limited observation upon which these statements are founded would suggest that such requests tend to assume an almost ritualistic character; the request is almost a formula. A group of men go about from house to house, announcing the proposed work. One says, characteristically, "*moztla mitztocaroa cuatequitl*" ("Tomorrow it falls to you to do *cuatequitl* [of a certain sort]").[1] The word *cuatequitl* is always used.

Cuatequitl is, quite plainly, the survival of communal labor reported from both the Aztec and the Maya areas. It is probably characteristic of all parts of Mexico where Indian heritages are strong.

There are, however, a score or more classes of specialists in Tepoztlán, and a description of the extent to which labor is divided is, as always, a description of the intellectual life of the community. A special interest to the situation in Tepoztlán is derived from the fact that the specialists there fall into two distinct classes, one of which represents the self-sufficient

[1] In this Nahuatl phrase the Spanish verb *tocar* ("to fall to the turn of," "to pertain to") is used as though it were a Nahuatl root.

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heard are the serenades of romantic youths, an occasional drunken peasant being taken home, and the animals.

Drinking water is supplied by a spring in one of the surrounding hills. The water is carried to street fountains by iron pipes which were first laid in 1902. Every barrio except San Pedro has one or more of these fountains. In the large barrios, fountains are placed at strategic street corners and are more numerous. In all there

Fig. 12. The end of the main street, Tepoztlán.

are twenty-six public fountains in the village. Most of them are made of clay and cement; some are semi-enclosed and protected by a roof, generally topped by a cross; others are merely open tanks. (See Fig. 14.)

A few homes near the center have water piped directly into their patios or kitchens. For this privilege a small tax is paid to the municipio. There is no attempt to control private use of the public water supply, and this has in the past caused some conflict. In several instances, persons with a private water supply permit relatives, friends, or *compadres* to take as much water as they wish; sometimes a neighbor will connect his water pipe to that of another, thus avoiding the tax. This uncontrolled use sometimes greatly decreases the flow of water into the nearest public fountain, particularly during the dry season when water is scarce. There have been

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With the exception of Santa Cruz (small) which, strictly speaking, is not an independent barrio but is about to become one, there are three large barrios: Santo Domingo, La Santísima, and San Miguel; and four smaller ones: Santa Cruz, Los Reyes, San Sebastián, and San Pedro. While topographic factors have played some role in fixing barrio boundaries, the larger barrios are grouped around the central plaza and the smaller ones are located above these on the ascending slope. However, the outer portions of the larger barrios are almost as distant from the center of the village as is the barrio of San Pedro. Since the entire village is built on a slope, the smaller barrios are called "los de arriba" and the larger ones "los de abajo."

Some Tepoztecans now use the road as a convenient dividing line between the upper and lower portions of the village. But the road cuts through the three larger barrios. The boundaries of the barrios are not always clearly defined, and we found considerable disagreement among informants concerning the limits. "Sometimes a boundary runs in the middle of a street and sometimes the houses on both sides pertain to the same *barrio*, the boundary then running just behind a row of houses. Occasionally there are irregular jogs which take a few houses out of a block and include them in another *barrio*. A whole block of houses, geographically in San Miguel, belong to the *barrio* of Santa Cruz, although almost at the opposite end of the town." [19]

Barrio membership is primarily determined by the ownership of a house site in a barrio and the payment of the tax for the upkeep of the barrio. In this fashion, barrio stability is assured despite the considerable changes in residence which occur in the village. For it is the house site that traditionally belongs to one barrio or another, and whoever lives on it, whether he obtained it by inheritance or purchase, becomes a member of that barrio. In most cases a person belongs to the barrio in which he was born and raised. However, a man who was born and raised in the barrio of San Pedro may purchase a site in Santa Cruz and establish his home there. If he pays his tax and participates in the affairs of the barrio he automatically becomes a member of Santa Cruz. He may, for reasons of sentiment, continue to support his barrio of origin and will probably also attend the barrio fiesta of San Pedro, since many of his relatives will still be there. But this is voluntary. Since patrilocal residence after marriage predominates, the men of any barrio are generally more closely related than the women. A woman upon marriage becomes a member of her husband's barrio. However, women, more than men, maintain cross-barrio loyalties; they help their relatives in the barrio of origin to prepare the fiesta.

It should be noted that some persons own house sites in two or three barrios. In these cases they must pay the tax in each but participate in the religious and social life of the barrio in which they reside or where they were raised and born. Widows, as heads of families, pay the tax on their house sites and are considered as members in the barrio of their house site. Young couples sometimes buy a house

[19] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 70.

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[648] in which the national administrative apparatus affects the daily lives of Tepoztecans will be considered here.

TAXATION

[651] Federal taxation touches most Tepoztecans directly and is a common subject of complaint. Most Tepoztecans view it as an imposition and do not readily understand the need for taxation nor what is done with the money. In fact, Tepoztecans pay relatively little in federal taxes, primarily on the sale of charcoal, on the slaughter of animals, and on trade. Tepoztecans accept fatalistically the necessity of paying taxes, but it develops a negative and critical attitude toward the national government.

HEALTH SERVICES

[744] [757] The federal government has a health center in Cuernavaca which is frequented by some Tepoztecans. However, the majority, particularly the older people, do not use it because they still prefer *curanderos* and are not yet accustomed to the idea of receiving services from the state. Even the federal health workers who come into the village from time to time to administer inoculations against communicable disease are endured by most villagers out of "respect" for the great power of the government, rather than because of an understanding of their services.

AGRICULTURAL SERVICES

[656] The Departamento Agrario intervenes directly in the affairs of Tepoztecans who hold land under the *ejido* program. Federal authority is the final authority which resolves problems or conflicts concerning *ejido* lands. But here, too, many Tepoztecans see in the agrarian authorities an imposition rather than a system of public service. As we have shown earlier, the nationalization of the communal lands has lessened local control, and this has not been well accepted. Tepoztecans [423] do not yet understand the need for national control of forest resources, especially when such control conflicts with their local interests.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Perhaps the clearest form in which the Tepoztecan peasant sees the power of the federal government is in the federal troops. Almost as a matter of tradition, [702] Tepoztecans have viewed soldiers with strong suspicion and dislike, and have fought attempts to conscript their sons. However, the attitude toward federal troops today is quite different from that shown toward the Federales of the Díaz [701] regime. Today the troops stationed in the village fraternize with the population; and though they are "respected" there is less of the fear that existed during the Díaz regime. Federal troops have been sent to the village on a number of occasions in recent years, once in connection with resistance to conscription during [702] the early part of World War II, and again when local political contests resulted in [666] violence.

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often than the president and that he generally visits the village before elections makes the villagers feel less distant toward him. There is less hesitancy about sending a delegation to the governor than to the president. On the other hand, Tepoztecans are much more critical of the governor and the state government than of the president. Tepoztecans recognize the necessity of a federal government to maintain order and "to protect us from the foreigners." They see much less reason for the existence of the state government, but they fear and respect its powers and authority.

Bodies such as the Procuradería General del Estado and the Receptoría General de Rentas del Estado have enormous meaning to the Tepoztecan. The first is the body in charge of all cases of violation of the public order, and their agents have frequently come to Tepoztlán to make arrests or to track down offenders. The Procuradería settles property cases and often sends summons to Tepoztecans to appear at a certain hour and day for hearings. Tepoztecans complain bitterly about the fact that the Procuradería accepts no excuses and will summon a man during the height of the agricultural season just as readily as any other time. Whether a man has bus fare or not, he must appear in Cuernavaca or an order for his arrest and detention will be forthcoming and a fine will be imposed. The Tepoztecan therefore fears the Procuradería, which appears to him to have arbitrary power. He also fears the public jails and the courts, both of which are related to the Procuradería. The state office of rents in Cuernavaca is also disliked, since it collects the bulk of the taxes taken from Tepoztlán.

In Cuernavaca there are such services as a state hospital and state supported medical clinics. But Tepoztecans are under the impression that the hospital is inferior, and rarely go there. A few have more faith in the hospitals of Mexico City and occasionally go there for serious operations.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Just as Tepoztecans are aware of an administrative hierarchy whose seat is in Mexico City, so they are aware of a religious hierarchy headed by the archbishop in Mexico City. Of course, they realize that the final authority is the Pope in Rome. The local priest often mentions the Pope and his messages, as well as the messages from the archbishop. The church in Tepoztlán has taken an active part in all the recent campaigns of the national church organization. For example, the four hundredth anniversary of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which was celebrated throughout the nation, was also celebrated in Tepoztlán and was the occasion for the visitation of church dignitaries who explained the great miracle of the apparition of the Virgin to Juan Diego shortly after the Conquest. In their sermons the priests generally identify the Virgin as a symbol of Mexican nationalism. And of course there are Tepoztecans who go on the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of the Virgin. In addition there are other religious cults of widespread popularity in Tepoztlán and other parts of the nation. One such cult is the Holy Saint of Chalma, who is visited annually by many Tepoztecans.

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The successful establishment of corn mills in Tepoztlán (Fig. 19) is important as an example of the process by which a modern technological trait becomes incorporated into a "folk culture." The first mill was set up in 1925 by a non-Tepoztecan. The response of the village was so feeble that he left after two years. Redfield lived in the village during this first attempt and explained some of the obstacles.

There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes.

To these reasons our informants added another: the strongest objections to the mill came not from the women but from the men, who viewed with great distrust the prospects of their wives having some leisure. The men believe firmly that the more occupied a woman is, the less are the possibilities of infidelity.

Shortly after Redfield left the village, a Tepoztecan opened another mill with great success. This success was due to a campaign of a group of women who saw the advantages which the mill would bring. Two years later another mill opened, and by 1942 there were four in the village. Today there is not a woman who does not regularly patronize the mills. A male informant described the success of the mill as "the revolution of the women against the authority of the men."

Having discussed the increase in the old occupations and the addition of new ones, we can now consider the question of specialization. It is here that we find one of the most important developments. Twenty years ago all of the so-called specialists were also farmers who closed their shops and went into the fields during the seasons of planting and harvesting. Today, considering all of the occupations, new and old, we find that of 220 men, 60 no longer work as farmers. The occupations in which we find the largest percentage of full-time specialists are as follows: storekeepers, chauffeurs, and bus line employees, teachers, butchers, shoemakers, millers, plumbers, druggists, barbers, and corn merchants.

It is interesting to note that generally the full-time specialists are in the "new" occupations, while the part-time specialists are in the occupations dating from the colonial and pre-Hispanic periods.

COLLECTIVE LABOR

Collective labor,[10] known as the *cuatequitl*, is in all probability an ancient tradition in Tepoztlán. At present it takes a number of forms, the village *cuatequitl*, the barrio *cuatequitl*, the *cuatequitl* of neighbors, and, on rare occasions, an inter-village *cuatequitl*. The village *cuatequitl* is a compulsory form of collective labor organized by the village authorities for public works such as improving the roads, constructing public buildings, or doing other work which, in theory, will benefit the village as a whole. Each able-bodied man between ages twenty-one and fifty can

[10] Family labor has already been treated in Chapter 3, "Status Distinctions and Family Organization," p. 61.

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be called upon for service to the community. Failure to respond to such a call is punishable by a fine or jail sentence. However, a man can pay the daily wage of a substitute if desired. When the task is a relatively small one and more men are called up than are needed for the actual work, some are asked to contribute food or drink instead of labor.

The better-to-do families generally do not participate in the village *cuatequitl*, since they consider such work beneath their dignity and prefer to pay for substitutes. The main source of labor for the village *cuatequitl* are the poor who cannot afford substitutes or fines. The men from the smaller and poorer barrios have the reputation of being the most industrious and reliable workers for the *cuatequitl*. This is related to the fact that they have little political influence and have greater fear of the authorities.

The village *cuatequitl* is organized in terms of the eight *demarcaciones* or wards into which the village is divided. The *ayudante* or representative of each *demarcación* is ordered to announce a *cuatequitl* in his ward, and specific men are designated to appear at a given time and place. The attendance of the men is checked by the *ayudante* from his list.[11] Sometimes, when men are needed at short notice, more direct means are used to assure successful recruitment.

In a recent boundary dispute with the municipio of Tejalpa, the authorities posted aides at all the roads and paths leading out of the village to intercept the men as they went to their fields early in the morning. In this way 600 men were recruited in one day, and they were set to work to cut through the forest overgrowth which covered the disputed boundary line. In this case, since it was a municipio boundary, men from the other villages were also recruited. Other instances of inter-village *cuatequitl* have occurred in the repair of bridges which are used in common.

In recent years there have been very few village *cuatequitls* of major importance. In 1934 some work was done to improve the market place. The last important village *cuatequitl* was organized in 1926–27 while Redfield was in the village.[12] At this time, under the initiative of the local political faction known as the Bolsheviki, communal washbasins were constructed. (See Fig. 20.) During the twenties, political feelings ran so high and cleavages were so marked that members of the opposition group refused to work in *cuatequitls* organized by those in power. Fines were out of the question at the time because authority could not be enforced.

During the early thirties, when political schisms were still strong, there occurred an unusual type of voluntary village *cuatequitl* for the construction of the road to Cuernavaca. Led by two enterprising non-Tepoztecan schoolteachers and with the backing of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico City, the villagers decided to build a road to Cuernavaca. The two political factions, the Bolsheviki and the Frater-

[11] Some men will work until the check-off and then slip away.

[12] Before the Revolution, when there was more money in the local treasury and when the local government was in the hands of *caciques* whose tenure was quite stable, there were many more *cuatequitls* than now.

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City, appealed for *ejido* lands for the landless families in the village. The petition for *ejidos* asked that the lands of the neighboring Hacienda of Oacalco, which had taken Tepoztecan lands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, be restored.

After almost ten years of petitioning and investigations, the request was finally granted, and by a presidential order of November 24, 1929, Tepoztlán received in restitution 2,100 hectares of land from the Hacienda of Oacalco. Of these 2,100 hectares of land, 200 were unirrigated land cultivable only during the rainy season, 500 were forest lands, and 1,400 were scrub forest lands suitable for mixed grazing.[4] This meant that there were only 200 hectares of cultivable land available for distribution in individual *ejido* plots. In addition to these lands, there have recently been other so-called *ejido* grants. In 1937 and again in 1940, the Departamento Agrario created *ejidos* out of portions of the communal lands and allotted these lands to individual Tepoztecan families.

The working out of the Agrarian Reform Laws and of the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán has not been without difficulties. It has led to a conflict between municipal and *ejido* authorities. In the past the communal lands were under the jurisdiction of the local municipal authorities. However, the presidential order of November 24, 1929, gave Tepoztlán the lands it had lost and included a clause which stipulated that in the future the communal lands, as well as the lands granted to the municipio as *ejidos*, were to be under the jurisdiction and administration of *ejido* authorities.

This order violated an old and well-established tradition which had received legal expression in the laws of the state of Morelos, whereby control of all communal lands was vested in the municipal government. Shortly after the presidential decree was passed, conflicts between the newly created *ejido* authorities and the municipal authorities broke out. The municipal authorities insisted in their right to control the communal lands, and when the *ejidatarios* refused to recognize this authority, they were jailed. The sending of federal troops to the village was threatened, to straighten out the confusion. Legally and technically the point of view of the Departamento Agrario won out, thereby weakening local authority.

One of the results of the change in authority is that the very scanty income of the municipio has been further reduced. It may be noted that this trend from local to national authority over communal lands began in 1926, when the Forestry Department took over responsibility for controlling and preserving the forest resources of the nation. Since that date, Tepoztecans who want to cut or burn wood for charcoal must, in theory, obtain the permission of the forestry authorities and pay the tax set by them. However, as we shall see later, in practice there are many violations; and at the time of this writing there is a flagrant disregard of any authority whatsoever in the making of charcoal.

Another conflict resulting from the *ejido* program in Tepoztlán is that between the *tlacololeros*, who have traditionally depended upon the communal lands for hillside agriculture, and the newly created *ejidatarios*. These two have come to be

[4] Most Tepoztecans think of this land as part of the communal holdings; only the arable portion is called *ejido*.

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occupation. The informant worked for ten days: three days in felling trees and cutting up the wood, one day in collecting the wood at one spot, one day in making the kiln, four days and nights in watching the kiln, and one day in taking off the dirt and putting the charcoal into sacks. The yield was 18 sacks or 9 *cargas* of charcoal. Each *carga* sold at 13 pesos, yielding 117 pesos. From this sum the informant had to pay 2 pesos a *carga* for transportation to Cuernavaca and 1½ pesos a *carga* for tax, totaling 31½ pesos, leaving him 85½ pesos for ten days' work. Since daily wages in agriculture at the time were about 4½ pesos, the income from charcoal is considered good in Tepoztlán. But charcoal burning is thought of as dirty work, and it ranks very low in prestige, being identified as a last occupational resort of the poor. Nevertheless, some well-to-do families in the outlying barrios spend part of their time in burning charcoal.

Until 1947, most of the charcoal in Tepoztlán was transported by burro to Yautepec. Since that time the bus line has agreed to transport charcoal, so that much of it now goes to Cuernavaca. The price of transport in 1948 was 2 pesos a *carga*. Occasionally a truck from Mexico City or Cuernavaca comes into Tepoztlán to transport charcoal.

CIRUELAS—HOG PLUMS

The *ciruela* is now an important cash crop in Tepoztlán, and according to informants it was introduced into Tepoztlán in 1865. There was little interest until it was discovered that the *ciruela* was pleasant to eat, and more trees were planted.

The *ciruela* can be easily propagated by cuttings. All that is necessary is to prepare a hole some 30 x 30 cms. wide and about 70 cms. deep and to place in it a branch from the mother tree—a branch 2 to 3 meters long and 5 to 10 cms. in diameter. The hole is then filled with soil and tightly packed. Cuttings may be made at any time of the year with good results. The only precaution necessary is to see that the cuttings are not disturbed while they are rooting, lest the young roots be broken. The trees begin producing in from 3 to 4 years, and production increases as the trees grow. Trees grow to a huge size. (See Fig. 32.)

Ciruelas first became a cash crop in Tepoztlán about 1901, or shortly after the railroad was built through the municipio. But transporting the *ciruelas*, by mule to the railroad and then by rail to Mexico City, incurred great expense and delay. Irregular train schedules often caused the fruit to spoil. After the highway was built, merchants from Mexico City and Cuernavaca sent their trucks to Tepoztlán during harvest, and the cash crop value of the *ciruelas*, transported in this way, increased. They are packed in wooden boxes known as *guacales*. Each *guacal* contains about nine gross of *ciruelas*. The price of a *guacal* in October, 1943, was six pesos. It is estimated that Tepoztlán exports about 7,000 *guacales* a year, a total crop value of about 42,000 pesos.

Prices are fixed by merchants from Cuernavaca and Mexico City. The merchants get together and decide among themselves what they will pay per gross for the fruit. Mexico City is the principal market.

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It is to be noted that the birthday of the father was not celebrated in either family, despite the fact that it is traditionally the most important birthday. It is quite common for men past youth to forego birthday celebrations as an economy measure.

Expenditure for alcohol is an almost inevitable item in every Tepoztecan household. It was impossible to estimate this item in Family I since the family was reticent to discuss it. The father has, in recent years, begun to drink heavily, and during periods of drunkenness, has wasted considerable family funds. A conservative estimate of his expenditures on alcohol would be at least four times that of Family II. It is interesting to note that the daughter in Family I also likes to drink wine and beer with her more sophisticated friends. This is a custom she learned while in Mexico City; in Tepoztlán she and her friends indulge only in great secrecy

In Family II only the father drinks. When he has money he drinks about 10 centavos worth of alcohol each morning.

BASIC HOUSEHOLD NECESSITIES

The articles included and the cost of each for both families are as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Soap	62.40	26.00
Charcoal	57.00	—
Wood	18.00	54.60
Kerosene	18.72	10.92
Cigarettes	43.68	7.80
Candles	43.68	18.72
Matches	7.80	2.60
Laundress	52.00	—
Total	303.28	120.64

The better-to-do family uses more soap, bathes and changes clothes more often, uses labor-saving charcoal, and has better lighting in the home. The father and son each smoke about three times more cigarettes than the father of the poor family, and the mother of the first family has the aid of a hired woman for the laundry. However, expenditures for household necessities for Family I is 5 per cent of the total, whereas for Family II it is 12 per cent.

HOUSE UPKEEP, REPAIR, AND TAX

This item provides a sharp contrast between the two families. The better-to-do family spent 1,165 pesos, or 19 per cent of its total expenditures, on improving its house; the poor family spent nothing but the 2 pesos for house tax. Family I regularly paints, whitewashes, and repairs its house; Family II has not done anything to improve its house in the past five years. The former has continually added rooms and out-buildings to the original house; the latter has lived in the same one-room house since marriage. It is one of the hopes of this family to add a room or porch, so that the older children may sleep separately from the parents and young children.

It is interesting to note that the tax for the improved house is little higher than

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that of the poor house. The expenditures for both families are summarized as follows:

	Family I (Pesos)	*Family II* (Pesos)
Roofing and remodeling three rooms	980	—
Painting one room	30	—
Whitewashing porch	20	—
New henhouse	100	—
New corncrib	30	—
House tax	5	2
Total	1,165	2

CLOTHING

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Clothing takes approximately the same proportion of the total annual expenditures for both families—7 per cent for Family I and 7.9 per cent for Family II. An examination of the type and amount of clothing purchased reveals some interesting differences.

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Entire family: cloth for making clothing	138.00	Entire family: cloth for making clothing	53.45
Father: 2 prs. huaraches at 11	22.00	Father: 1 pr. huaraches	5.00
2 sombreros	11.50	2 sombreros	5.50
		1 *gabán*	11.00
Son: 1 pr. huaraches	11.00	First son: 2 sombreros	1.65
1 pr. shoes	22.00	Second son: 1 sombrero	.90
2 sombreros	12.50	Third son: 1 sombrero	.65
1 felt hat	18.00	Infant son: cotton booties	1.00
Mother: 2 prs. shoes	20.50		
Daughter: 2 prs. shoes at 15	30.00		
2 prs. shoes at 20	40.00		
1 pr. shoes	27.00		
3 prs. stockings at 10	30.00		
2 prs. stockings at 15	30.00		
Total	412.50	Total	79.15

The cloth purchased for Family I was used to make men's shirts and pants, women's blouses and dresses, and underclothing for both. Every member of this family still has a good supply of clothing from the previous year. The cloth for Family II was used to make shirts and *calsones* for the father and first three sons. One daughter received a new dress this year because she took part in a religious program. The mother received a dress as a Mother's Day gift from the daughter who works, and the second daughter received a worn dress from the same girl. The younger daughters have worn hand-me-down dresses ever since they were born. The infant wears old clothing given by the mother's sister. All the members of this family except the father and the working daughter always go barefoot.

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tamiento. He organizes the nightly village watch and makes arrests when necessary.

During the dry season the government offices are generally open between 9:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M. and between 4:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M. During the agricultural season the hours are much more irregular, and oftentimes the officials close the offices and go to their fields to plant or cultivate. The same thing happens during the harvest.

The salaries paid to officials are extremely low, even by Tepoztecan standards. They are paid a daily rate in pesos as follows:

President	3.00
Síndico	2.00
Regidor	2.00
Secretary	2.50
Treasurer	2.50
Chief of police	2.00
Assistant to chief	1.75
Porter	1.50
Judge	1.00
Secretary to judge	1.50

These low salaries are one of the factors which encourage graft on the part of the officials.

The village officials are mostly from the larger barrios of San Miguel, La Santísima, and Santo Domingo. A review of the officeholders since 1920 showed that not a single president was from San Pedro, Los Reyes, or San Sebastián. The reasons given for this are as follows: (1) the smaller barrios have traditionally been viewed as the more backward barrios and without political power; (2) residents of the small barrios say that only dishonest people seek the presidency, that they have connections with politicians in Cuernavaca, and that they have some funds for propaganda. Most of the presidents and officials between 1920 and 1943 could read and write, and included individuals who were highly acculturated and little acculturated. In 1943 all the officials wore huaraches while at work, but all could read and write.

The sources of income of the municipio are varied and are shown in the following budget for the year 1943:[2]

	Income (Pesos)
Traveling merchants[3]	50
Public diversions (movies)[4]	20
Slaughter of animals	2,500
Service for water	300

[2] These data were copied from local records and are official estimates of budget income. Generally the income is about 1,000 pesos below these estimates.

[3] The very small income obtained from traveling merchants reflects the decadence of the local market and the paucity of merchants from other areas.

[4] The municipio receives a ten per cent tax on the gross receipts from movies. The small

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	Income (Cont.) (Pesos)
Certificates and copies	200
Charge for entries in the civil register	50
Exemption of publication of acts of the civil register [a]	700
Corral de consejo	50
Tax on cattle	300
Commercial and industrial register	200
Registration of cattle brands	200
Registration of private documents	400
Miscellaneous authorizations	50
Tax on use of the market and plaza	500
Burial permits	300
Taxes on use of communal resources	800
Payments in lieu of public service and non-specified income	1,000
Ten per cent tax on commercial and industrial enterprises	200
Income from the state	150
Income from the state and federal governments as specified by particular laws	500
Fines imposed for infractions of laws	230
Products from sale of *Bienes Mostrencos y Hallazgos de Tesoro Ocultos*	200
Gifts to the municipio	200
Total	9,200

It can be seen that almost fifty per cent of the income of the municipio is derived from four sources: the slaughter of animals, the payment of residents in lieu of working twelve days a year in public service, the exemption of publication of acts in the civil register, and taxes from the use of communal resources.

The income of the municipio over a twelve-year period from 1931 to 1943 (data for 1936 were not available) is shown as follows:

Year	*Income* (Pesos) [a]
1931	4,360.74
1932	2,586.35
1933	4,855.91

[a] The figures for 1931 are for ten months, and those for 1932 are for six months. All others are for a twelve-month period.

income from this source indicates how rarely movies or other public entertainment comes to the village.

[b] According to state law, marriages and other acts recorded in the register should be officially announced by posted notices in the *ayuntamiento* and in the official government bulletin. But Tepotzecans shun this kind of publicity and by paying a special fee can avoid it. The same thing occurs in relation to the reading of the marriage banns by the priest. By special payment this also can be avoided.

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Year	*Income (Pesos)*
1934	4,011.80
1935	3,742.60
1936	—
1937	5,162.49
1938	4,795.75
1939	6,494.70
1940	7,088.58
1941	6,467.74
1942	7,617.03
1943	7,568.99

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Since the salaries of the officials amounted to over seven thousand pesos per year (during the forties), it is obvious that there was little money left over for public improvements. This is one of the demoralizing factors in local government and also one of the reasons that the Tepoztecans generally look to the federal government for help. Each president who enters office promises to do something for his pueblo. But he soon learns that there are no funds, not to mention the other difficulties. To make matters worse, many villagers are convinced that the local government officials, especially the president, *judico*, *regidor*, and secretary, are dishonest and have a large income from illegal dealings. But this does not deny the fact that the official income is much too meager for any significant public works program with local funds.

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It will be noted that the municipio has practically no income from land taxes. Most of the taxes on land goes to the state government. The state government collected over sixty thousand pesos in taxes in the twelve years between 1931 and 1943 for which data are available.[6] During this entire period the only state funds which went back to the village were for the salary of the state tax collector who was paid on a pro rata basis.

The taxes which go to the federal government are considerably smaller than those which go to the state. Federal taxes taken out of Tepoztlán are shown in the following:

Year	*Pesos*
1938	2,529.86
1939	2,455.04
1940	—
1941	3,118.99
1942	3,794.55
1943	3,568.77

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The routine business of the local government consists primarily of issuing permits for various types of activities. The most frequent requests include the following:

Permits for fiestas, religious and secular
Permits for slaughter of animals

[6] These data were obtained from the official state tax records in Cuernavaca.